

Message Text

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SUBJECT: MALCOLM W. BROWNE'S LATEST: "EASTERN EUROPE,
DESPITE PARLEY, REMAINS WARY OF THE RED ARMY"

1. THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE APPEARED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES
JULY 12 BY MALCOLM BROWNE DATED BELGRADE:

--- DESPITE SIGNS THAT MOSCOW HAS MOMENTARILY BECOME MORE
TOLERANT OF DIVERGENT VIEWS IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST COM-
MUNITY, EASTERN EUROPEANS HARBOR NO DOUBTS THAT FOR THEM
THE ULTIMATE POLITICAL ARBITOR REMAINS THE SOVIET ARMY.

--- THE LEADERS OF 29 EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES ASSEMBLED
AT A CEREMONY IN EAST BERLIN LATE LAST MONTH TO WITNESS THE
PUBLICATION OF A BLAND PHILOSOPHICAL STATEMENT OF GENERAL
AIMS, WHICH SATISFIED NONE OF THE PARTICIPANTS AND WAS
SIGNED BY NONE.

--- IN SOME QUARTERS IN THE WEST THE CONFERENCE WAS HAILED
AS A KIND OF VICTORY FOR THOSE PARTIES THAT HAVE DISAVOWED
THE PRIMACY OF MOSCOW, NOTABLY THOSE OF YUGOSLAVIA, RUMANIA,
ITALY, FRANCE AND SPAIN.

--- "BUT AS YOU KNOW," AN EASTERN EUROPEAN OBSERVED, "YOU
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CAN READ THE SPEECHES OF THE EAST EUROPEAN LEADERS AND SEE

THAT SOME CONTINUE TO PROCLAIM MOSCOW AS THE ABSOLUTE LEADER, OTHERS REJECT THE IDEA OF A DOMINANT PARTY AND THE REST FALL SOMEWHERE IN BETWEEN. THE ENTHUSIASM OF THESE SPEECHES REGARDING MOSCOW LEADERSHIP WAS IN DIRECT PROPORTION TO THE NUMBER OF SOVIET TROOPS STATIONED ON THE SOIL OF EACH SPEAKER. I THINK THERE IS A LESSON IN THAT."

----- NO BELGRADE REJOICING

--- THERE WAS NO REJOICING HERE WHEN THE BERLIN MEETING CONCLUDED, DESPITE THE EMBRACE GIVEN TO PRESIDENT TITO OF YUGOSLAVIA BY THE SOVIET PARTY LEADER, LEONID I. BREZHNEV, FOR THE BENEFIT OF TELEVISION CAMERAS.

--- YUGOSLAV OFFICIALS RECOGNIZED THAT MARSHAL TITO HAD ACHIEVED PERSONAL VINDICATION FOR THE FEUD THAT BEGAN IN 1948 BETWEEN HIM AND STALIN, WHO PROVOKED HIM TO LEAVE THE BLOC.

--- SINCE STALIN'S DEATH IN 1953 YUGOSLAV-SOVIET RELATIONS HAVE MENDED. IN 1956 YUGOSLAVIA ACHIEVED WHAT IT STILL REGARDS AS THE CORNERSTONE OF ITS INDEPENDENCE -- A DECLARATION MORE OR LESS COMMITTING THE SOVIET UNION TO RESPECT THE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE YUGOSLAV PARTY.

--- THE DECLARATION, WON WITH THE TACIT ASSUMPTION THAT THE UNITED STATES MIGHT INTERVENE IF THE RUSSIANS INVADED YUGOSLAVIA, WAS NO BLANKET ENDORSEMENT OF DISSOLUTION IN THE SOVIET BLOC. SOVIET ARMIES CRUSHED NATIONAL REBELLIONS AGAINST SOVIET HEGEMONY IN HUNGARY IN 1956 AND IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1968.

--- TODAY 460,000 SOVIET SOLDIERS ARE STATIONED IN EASTERN EUROPE, MAINTAINING HEADQUARTERS AT LEGNICA, POLAND, BUDAPEST, ZOSSEN-WUNSDORF, EAST GERMANY, AND MILOVICE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA. KISSINGER

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